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Dear Mr. Chairman, dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

I want to discuss the role of the Western European governments and especially the government of the Federal Republic of Germany in the process of decolonization in East Timor.

We all know about the situation in East Timor. After a period of nearly 500 years under Portuguese colonial rule, a process of decolonization began in 1974. The Portuguese administration left the territory in August 1975 when a civil war which lasted three weeks broke out. Nevertheless, in doing this, the Lisbon government didn't give up its legal claim to the territory. On November 28th 1975 the winner of the short civil war, the Fretilin Party declared the independence of the "Democratic Republic of East Timor." Nine days later, on December 7th the Indonesian army invaded the territory. In May 1976 a so called "peoples assembly" of East Timor passed a law which incorporated the island with Indonesia. On July 17th President Suharto signed the law in the name of his government.

There was no referendum under the supervision of the UN and there was no legitimation for the so-called "peoples assembly" of East Timor. Therefore, the Indonesian proceeding was in complete contradiction to the principals of international law which demand that "the integration should be the result of the free choice of the population in the territory" (Principle IX in addition to UN resolution 1541 XV). The colonial administration power, Portugal, and the majority of the UN members strictly rejected the Indonesian proceeding and so East Timor, according to international law, remains a territory in which the

process of decolonization has not been finished. Western European countries speak out in favor of the right of self determination in the territories where the process of decolonization has not been finished yet. For example, the West-German Minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Hansdietrich Genscher, said at the UN General Assembly: on 25th September 1974:

> The right of self determination is a basic principal which should be valid not only for the areas of decolonization or one single territory of the earth but for everywhere. We never allowed any doubt about our position: We demand the elimination of remaining colonialism.

Before the plenary of the KSZE conference in Madrid on 9th February 1982 he said:

> Human rights and self determination of people are the basic principles of the Helsinki agreements. They are the foundation of human coexistence and internation cooperation between states which have equal rights. They are the unchangable principles of the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to these principles, decolonization in East Timor in conformity with international law and the free choice of the people should be one of the main concerns of the Western European and German foreign policy. But when we look at their actions, we see just the opposite. The Federal German government is one of the main supporters of the so called decolonization process carried out by Indonesia. German officials do little more than praise their Indonesian counterparts. On a visit to Jarkarta in February 1984, Mr. Carstens, the

former president of the Federal Republic of Germany claimed that "Germany and Indonesia are engaged in making peace on earth safer." The official responsible for South and South-East Asia at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. von Pfetten, puts it this way:

> Political cooperation with Indonesia is very important or the Federal Government. In all important international questions, the two countries have similar and often identical views, especially over Afghanistan and Cambodia.

For East Timor this close cooperation means that the Federal Republic of Germany as well as most of the other Western European countries abstained on all Timor votes of the UN General Assembly instead of supporting the right of self determination. Outside the General Assembly, the Federal German government is even one of the most outspoken opponents of the decolonization process in East Timor. It also denies the consequences of the Indonesian kind of decolonization: war, famine, human rights violations, relocation of people, birth control program, transmigration.

In 1979, when the Association for Endangered People and the Committee Cap Anamur called on the government to support the starving people in East Timor, the Foreign Department denied that there was any need for help. In a letter to the Association dated 7 March, 1980, the Ministry wrote:

> We can assure you that the situation of the people in East Timor greatly improved in the last 6 months of 1979. . . . The Australian and Indonesian

governments are, moreover, willing to provide assistance until the situation stabilises.

In an internal letter, Mr. Hallier, the German ambassador to Jakarta, made the preposterous claim that "free elections held under UN supervision would see Golkar emerge as the victor [in East Timor] because, except for a very small minority, most people would certainly vote for the new ruler."

If this is really the case, why is Indonesia refusing free elections under UN supervision?

In February 1984 a German parliamentary delegation (without any member of the Green party) visited East Timor. They published a balanced report, stressing progress as well as oppression. One of the MPs, Mr. Ulrich Klose, the former Mayor of Hamburg, published an additional artical in the German magazine **Der Spiegel** under the headline, "Everything appears as under arrest." In the article he says that, according to his investigations, about 150,000 people have been killed, conditions are still very bad and relatives of any suspects are routinely arrested and held.

The German representative at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva that year, Mr. Hoynck, used only those parts of the parliamentary report that were favorable to Indonesia for the purpose of lobbying. Critical points were completely ignored. By deceiving the other members in this way, Mr. Hoynck's statement was crucial in preventing a condemnation of Indonesia. This can be proved by confidential minutes of the debate which the Association for Endangered Peoples received.

When Defense Minister, Worner visited Indonesia in November 1985, 87 Social Democrat and 20 Green MPs urged him to raise the East Timor issue. He refused, saying that he was going to Jakarta "to discuss security in the region."

Such callous disregard for the tragedy suffered by the East Timorese since the Indonesian invasion is the hallmark of West German official declarations. Thus, in reply to questions tabled by the Greens last year, the Foreign Minister even went so far as to claim that "there is no Indonesian war against East Timor."

It seems that in contradiction to its official point of view the West German government regards East Timor as a part of Indonesia. When the Green MP Uschi Eid published a resolution in the parliament demanding political steps to carry out the right of self determination of the people in East Timor, the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Sprung, rejected the resolution in the name of the government, saying that it would be an interference in the internal affairs of an independent state.

As the public criticism against the German role in the decolonization process in East Timor increased, Father Seifert, a priest and member of the Christian Democratic Union, visited East Timor as an "independent" eye-witness. Upon his return he said that Indonesia had supported a process of decolonization and that conditions in the territory were improving. But this eyewitness was biased. He is known as a close friend of Indonesia. His report was full of inaccuracies--for instance he claimed that there was a war between the Portuguese administration and the Fretilin party and at the peak of that

war, Indonesia intervened to make peace. That assertion is a complete distortion of historical facts. However, such mistakes did not prevent the newspaper **Die Welt**, which openly supports the West German government's policy, from publishing the report. But the Diocese of Colone to which Seifert belongs forbid him to travel to East Timor again.

When the West German government speaks out very strongly in favor of decolonization and self-determination but at the same time lobbies very hard to prevent real self-determination in East Timor one must ask why.

West German policy is guided by economic and military interests. Bonn regards Indonesia as a major partner in the arms trade and in private investment. Notwithstanding the fact that West German law forbids the sale of weapons if they are used for starting war, Germany's arms trade with Indonesia has increased dramatically since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. In 1977, the Social Democratic Government approved the export of two submarines to Indonesia, and in the following years, torpedo-boats, minesweepers and transport aircraft were added to the list of equipment supplied to the Indonesian Armed Forces. According to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, by April 1984 West Germany had become, after the USA, the second largest supplier of military equipment to Indonesia.

Indonesia is now devoting much attention and resources to building its own armaments industry, and looks to West Germany for support. A key figure in this alliance is Indonesia's Minister for Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie who studied engineering in Aachen and worked as a senior engineer with Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm (MBB). Even though he is now a minister, he is

nonetheless on the pay-roll of MBB, an example of what some would consider a conflict of interest.

Under Habibie's direction, MBB was one of the first armament companies to invest in Indonesia. Together with the state aviation company, Nusantara (formally Nurtanio), it has set up a center for Indonesian aviation in Bandung. In an interview with a Portuguese television crew in East Timor in 1983, an Indonesian officer admitted that they were using MBB-manufactured BO-105 helicopters in East Timor. The German Ministry of Technology has spent about US$5 million to support MBB investments in Indonesia.

Other German companies supporting Indonesia's weapons industry are Mercedes, Siemens, AEG, MTU and the Lurrssen-dockyard. In 1984, the newspaper, **The Australian** published a photograph of Indonesian soldiers in Mercedes vehicles on the streets of Dili, East Timor.

West Germany is also supporting the nuclear research center in Serpong, south-west of Jakarta, where a multipurpose nuclear reactor MPR-30 is being built. The reactor is producing low-concentrate uranium which is suitable for use in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Germany's contribution to this programme has already amounted to US$15 million.

At the moment the German company Kraft Werks Union (KWU) hopes to get the order for the first Indonesian nuclear plant. According to the **Indonesian Observer,** KWU's chances are very good although there are companies from countries like the USA, France, Italy, Japan and Canada which have also applied for the order.

Taking such close military and industrial cooperation into consideration it appears that the West German government is sacrificing the rights of decolonization and self determination of the East Timorese people for the German economic and military interests in that region, even though such a policy completely contradicts its own principles. I ask all members in the UN decolonization committee and other UN bodies which deal with this question to keep in mind the close cooperation I have outlined. The West German government refuses to support the rights of self determination and decolonization of the East Timorese people and instead tries to justify the Indonesian atrocities, because of its own economic and political interests rather than the merits of the case.

Thank you very much.

Klemens Ludwig

New York, 15th August 1986